

**Youth Perspectives on Their Mother's Influence and Their Relationship
Among Crime-Involved African-American Male Youth**

A Senior Honors Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for graduation with distinction in Early Childhood Development and Education
in Human Ecology
at The Ohio State University

By
Sharla Starker

The Ohio State University
June 2009

Project Adviser: Dr. Deanna Wilkinson, Associate Professor
Human Development and Family Science

Abstract

This study analyzed young urban African-American, crime-involved males' perspectives on their relationships with their mothers both now, and also when they were growing up and how that relationship affected them. Using a subsample of 67 qualitative interviews with youth from the New York City Youth Violence Study dataset originally collected by HDFS faculty member, Dr. Deanna Wilkinson, we explored mother-son relationships in terms of discipline, parenting styles, warmth and caring, and thoughts about their mothers. The subsample consisted of 67 adolescent males who were raised in households headed by single mothers. From these interviews, we explored the sons' perspectives on their relationship with their mothers, and this helped answer the following questions: What influence did their mothers have on them? What types of mothering/parenting styles do young, African-American, crime-involved males describe? Does the socialization passed on by the mothers influence their criminal activities? This research will contribute to the field of Human Development and Family Science and Criminal Justice by looking at the relationship between the mother and son, and the possible parenting influences on youth outcomes. Hopefully this research will help provide some context for understanding the mother-son relationship and limits of what mothers can do in preventing their son's involvement in delinquency and crime in high crime neighborhoods.

Introduction

Research has shown that 50% or more of all African-American households are headed by single-mothers, resulting in nearly 85% of African-American children living in poverty. These mothers shoulder a huge responsibility in raising children. The absence of a father figure is considered to be a risk factor for numerous negative outcomes, particularly for sons. There has been very little research on the relationship between African-American mothers and their adolescent sons, especially from the sons' perspective. This study examines urban adolescent and young adult African-American males' perspectives on their relationships with their mothers both now and during childhood, and how this relationship has affected them.

Literature Review

Little research has been done on the link between youth crime and the maternal parental relationship with youth, particularly from the perspective of youth. As one researcher stated much research has looked at the causes and adverse effects of being raised by a single mother, rather than looking at how the children are being raised by their mothers (Murry, Bynum, Brody, Willert, Stephens, 2001). Prior research on the relationship between the maternal parental relationship with youth has been done from the mother's perspective; moreover, what has been written is usually stereotypical and inaccurate (Bush, 2004, Collins, 1990, 1994). The relationship between African-American mother-son dyads is unique in society according to Bush (2004) because 50% or more of all African-American households are run by single mothers. Murry et al (2001) looked at the correlation between African-American single mothers and their family structure, the mother's well-being and parenting styles from the studies other

researchers have done. Through their research they found that the level of parent control the mother displayed did have an effect on adolescent outcomes and the influences of the neighborhood in which they live, affecting the adolescent's self-reliance and behavioral problems.

One way to define parental control is to look at Baumrind's (1971) three styles of parenting: Authoritarian, Authoritative, and Permissive. Authoritarian is defined as the parent being in complete control, expecting obedience and respect, and punishing the child for any wrongdoing. Authoritative is more of a partnership between parent and child; the parent guides the child and explains reasons for certain circumstances and realizes the child has thoughts and rights also. Permissive is defined as the parent letting the child do whatever they want; there are no responsibilities given to the child and the parent does not give any control. Researchers Maccoby and Martin (1983) came up with a fourth parenting style, uninvolved/neglectful. A parent who is uninvolved gives no warmth or control to their children. Another study stated that the permissive parenting style should be separated into two different categories, indulgent permissiveness and neglectful permissiveness. Indulgent permissiveness is where there is no control but lots of warmth, the other category neglectful permissiveness, there is no control or warmth (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, Dornbusch, 1991). Results from one study looking at these parenting styles and the effects on adolescents discovered that there is a correlation between adolescent well-being and parenting style, finding Authoritative parenting to be the most effective style relating to adolescents higher self-esteem and lower levels of behavioral problems (Milevsky, Schlechler, Netter, Keehn, 2007). Hanson, Henggler, Haefele, Rodick (1984) found that adolescent males with no father present and getting

involved with a deviant peer group were more likely to be involved in criminal activity. Other research has shown that African-American single mothers, compared to mothers in a two-parent family, interact negatively to their children, with harsher disciplinary styles (Murry, et al, 2001, McLoyd, 1990). According to Lewit (1993) and his study on children in poverty:

Almost 60% of black children live in single-female-headed families; because of the high rates of poverty experienced by children in families headed by single females, black children in single-female-headed families account for more than 85% of all poor black children (pg. 4)

Researchers Mandara and Murray (2002) found that, even within each parenting style, there are different cultural patterns to consider. Specifically, the researchers showed that African American authoritative parents tend to be “more demanding and less acquiescent to children’s demands than are European American authoritative parents” (Mandara, 2006, pg 210). The research further explains that in African American families, parents show love and warmth, but it is also acceptable to spank their children whereas in European American parents are less likely to do so (Mandara, 2006). Hanson et al (1984) found that having a poor mother-son relationship, the adolescent appeared to be more likely to participate in peer activities and seek peer support. They also found that once an adolescent has committed a crime, they are more susceptible to peer pressure. Furthermore, an adolescent who is immature and lives in a single mother household has a greater chance of criminal activity. Also Giordano, Schroeder, and Cernkovich (2007) found that negative events happening in the home and/or with the family could lead to an angry child/adolescent, which then being so angry can lead to criminal activity.

According to Henggeler, Hanson, Borduin, Watson, and Brunk (1985) if the relationship between mother and son has very little communication, and then the son becomes violent, the mother might disengage from trying to control the son at all. This uncontrolled environment could possibly lead to criminal activity.

Research does show that an African American child living in a single-mother home who receives support, loving care and positive feedback, has positive thoughts and self-esteem (Murry, et al., 2001). Murry et al. (2001) study revealed that adolescents in single-mother households had the highest level of support, but reported the least amount of time spent together as a family. This study also showed that single mothers who felt they had social support felt more positive about their parenting, which in turn gave the adolescents a more positive outlook (Murry, et al., 2001). According to another researcher, even parents successful building a relationship with their child in late adolescence can help mend some difficulties of the past (Hair, Moore, Garrett, Ling, Cleveland, 2008)

The present study examined young urban African-American, crime-involved males' perspectives on their relationships with their mother both now, and also when they were growing up, and how that relationship has affected them. The general goal of this research is to see patterns in relationships between a mother and her son in a sample of 67 high-risk youth. Prior analysis of the first 125 subjects in the NYCYS dataset has shown that young men reported a range of experiences with their mothers, from very positive stable relationships at one end of the spectrum, to very negative abusive relationships at the other (Wilkinson, 2003). We hope to glean information that may be used to identify ways that the mother-son dyad could be supported to promote prosocial

outcomes especially in the absence of a male father-figure. This research will contribute to the field of Human Development and Family Science, as well as Criminal Justice, by looking at the relationship between the mother and son, and the possible parenting influences on youth outcomes. Hopefully, this research will help provide some context for understanding the mother-son relationship and limits of what mothers can do in preventing their son's involvement in delinquency and crime in high crime neighborhoods.

Methodology

The Original New York City Youth Violence Study

The data for this research come from a qualitative study of 416 active violent offenders from two New York City neighborhoods. The interview data were gathered over a three-year period from September 1995 through July 1998 (as described previously by Wilkinson, 2003). The study neighborhoods had among the highest levels of poverty and violent crime in New York City. Current or previous residency in one of the study neighborhoods was an eligibility criterion. The sampling design targeted males between the ages of 16 and 24 from three pools of subjects: individuals convicted of illegal handgun possession or a violent offense (the criminal justice sample, $n=150$ or 36%); individuals injured in a violent transaction (the hospital sample, $n=62$ or 15%); and individuals identified by screening as having been actively involved in violence in the previous six months (the neighborhood samples, $n=204$ or 49%).

The young men in the jail sample ($n=23$) were interviewed at Rikers Island in a private office ordinarily used for psychological counseling. Those youths who were recently released were recruited and interviewed in private offices at Friends of Island

Academy, non-profit organization dedicated to assisting juveniles leaving Rikers Island (n=127). Participants in the hospital sample were recruited at Lincoln and Kings County hospitals by researchers working with hospital staff to identify violently injured youth. Most hospitalized youths were interviewed in their hospital rooms or in private offices in the hospital. The neighborhood samples were generated using chain referral or snowball sampling techniques (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Watters & Biernacki, 1989).

The in-depth, open-ended interviews took one to two hours to complete and were conducted by “peer” interviewers. Peer interviewers or lay experts can enhance the quality of qualitative data collection by bridging the social distance between researchers and respondents, especially in studies of minority youth (see Walker & Lidz, 1977). Peer interviewers were initially recruited through Dr. Wilkinson’s involvement with a local non-profit organization that provided reentry services to young offenders leaving Rikers Island. Interviewer training was an ongoing and elaborate process that focused on teaching peer interviewers about the purposes of the research, the procedures for protecting confidentiality, ways of being sensitive to respondents, interviewing techniques, the importance of developing rapport, and communicating effectively with potential respondents. Training also included role playing; mock interviewing; peer and researcher critiques of each interviewer’s style; explanations of how to use probes, reference points, sequencing, memory aids, and cross checks to assist in the recall of information; identifying and screening potential subjects; a full review of the informed consent procedures; and transcription of taped interviews. The lead researcher conducted a reflective debriefing session with each interviewer for all early interviews and on an *ad hoc* basis throughout the data collection period. Interviewers were matched with

participants based on age, race/ethnicity, gender, and life experiences. Participants were paid \$20 for their time.

The neighborhoods selected for this study were among the most disadvantaged in New York City in terms of poverty and violent crime. We purposefully selected two high violence neighborhoods in an attempt to control for neighborhood variation in the life experiences of our respondents. The study was designed to examine violent events and individuals as the primary units of analysis. The geographic boundaries of the neighborhoods corresponded with the police districts serving each neighborhood (the 75th precinct, or community district 5, in Brooklyn and the 40th precinct, or community district 1, in the Bronx). Compared to New York City as a whole, East New York and the South Bronx had significantly higher rates of unemployment, fewer high school graduates, higher percentages of families below the poverty level, a larger proportion of the population under 25 years old, and larger minority populations. The homicide rate was 2.24 times greater in East New York and 3.41 times greater in the South Bronx than for New York City (see Wilkinson, 2003, especially Table 2-2, page 31). Both neighborhoods also had significantly higher rates of robbery and assault than New York City.

Data Used in Current Study

The subsample will consist of 67 adolescent males who were raised in households headed by single mothers. Using a subsample of 67 qualitative interviews from the dataset, we explored mother-son relationships in terms of discipline, attachment styles, warmth and caring, and thoughts about their mothers.

Original Study Participants

The full NYCYVS dataset has been described in publications authored by Dr. Wilkinson and her colleagues (Wilkinson, 2003; 2007; Wilkinson and Fagan, 1996; Wilkinson and Carr, in press). The NYCYVS study was unique. In terms of demographic characteristics the sample was 48.5% African American, 39.3% Puerto Rican, and 12.2% Caribbean, Latin American, or mixed ethnicity. The average age of respondents was 19.5, with 18.2% of respondents at the modal age of 18, the range was 14-27 years and the standard deviation was 2.69. Thirty-six percent of respondents were enrolled in school at the time of the interview, 20.7% had completed high school or a general equivalency degree (GED), and 43.1% had dropped out of school. Only 18.7% were raised in two-parent families and 37.8% were fathers. Of the sample, 19.8% were legally employed full- or part-time. Participants reported numerous risk factors and criminal justice experiences: 92.1% owned or had owned a gun, 85% had been or were involved in the drug business, 77% had committed a robbery, 62% reported about his involvement in a gun event within the prior 2 years, and 85% had been or were incarcerated (see Wilkinson and Carr, in press).

For the current study, the NYCYVS dataset includes 99 cases of young African-American males ranging in ages of 14-26, that were raised without their biological father. To further narrow the study down we looked at the adolescents ranging in age of 16-24 years old, who grew up in the East New York neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York, and who provided complete data on a majority of the relevant interview domains. The average age for the subsample was 19.5 years. At the time of the interviews 38% of the

67 were enrolled in school, 39.7% had dropped out of school, and 25.7% of them were legally employed.

New City Youth Violence Study Sample Characteristics

	<u>n</u>	<u>Valid n</u>	<u>%</u>
Age, Range 16-24, SD = 2.79			
Mean 19.5 years		(67)	
Median 19 years		(67)	
Mode 19 years		(67)	
Structural Position			
Education: Currently in school	24	(63)	38.0
Education: Dropped out	25	(63)	39.7
Education: High school graduate or higher	12	(63)	19
Education: Completed GED	6	(63)	9.5
Currently Employed (legitimate work)	17	(66)	25.7
Family Background			
Raised in 2 parent family	3	(59)	5
Mean Family size (childhood)	5.46	(54)	
Respondent is a father or expectant	24	(58)	41.3
Risk Factors/Violent Behaviors			
Ever owned a gun	55	(64)	85.9
Ever involved in drug economy	55	(64)	85.9
Ever involved in robbery	51	(62)	82.3
Ever involved in assault	21	(54)	38.9
Ever involved in attempted murder	19	(54)	35.2
Ever incarcerated	45	(59)	76.3

Measures

Interviews covered a range of topics including: family experiences, school, employment, peer relationships, neighborhood processes, neighborhood violence, street codes, guns, drug use, violent events, stressful and traumatic life events, criminal activity, criminal justice experiences, free time pursuits, future goals, perspectives on solutions of neighborhood problems, and awareness of resources and opportunities in the neighborhood. A biographical approach was used to capture information about life experiences, involvement in multiple problems behaviors, the social meanings that criminally involved young minorities made of their lives. A multi-context ecological

approach was built into the data analysis, including a focus on a respondent's family of origin and his experiences in school, peer networks, local neighborhood environment, workplace setting, and the criminal justice system. The family section of the interview protocol included over 40 open-ended questions (see Wilkinson, 2003 for details) and yielded over 1500 single-spaced pages of narrative from 416 individuals. The open-ended interview questions were general in nature allowing respondents to use their own words to characterize their experiences.

This project examined questions based on personal characteristics, about their family, disciplinary actions by their mother, who they would talk to about their problems, their criminal activity, if they were in school or at what level of education they finished, and role models.

Data Analysis

All youth interviews have been transcribed and entered in NVIVO 7.0, which is software that will help interpret, analyze, and organize the data into sections to help identify patterns and develop a coding schema for parenting style, communication, discipline, and other topics of interest.

Human Subjects Concerns and IRB approval

All projects using the NYCVYS data qualify for category 4 exemption at OSU. The data qualify for exemption because all new projects are considered secondary data analysis of existing data. All of the personal identifying information that could lead to a breach of confidentiality has been changed. Some location information still remains unchanged; however, any time addresses, specific location names, or other potentially revealing information is selected to be included in quotation for publication the names

will changed or removed. The original data collection was approved by the institutional review boards at Columbia University and Rutgers University.

Results

Insights from the sons' perspective suggest that their mothers were a good influence on them. They looked up to their mothers and deeply loved and respected their mothers. They had an overall good relationship with their mother and felt their mom would always be there for them.

Mother a good influence

(Interviewer) "Do you think she was a good influence on you when you coming up? Why or why not?" — Eighty-one percent of youth said yes and talked about what a good person their mother is, how hard working, and how she tried to do the best she could raising the kids all by herself. Many youth talked about how their mother made them into the man they are today. For example (Evan) "yeah, she made me a strong man" or (Keshawn) "Yes she was, my pops wasn't there, so we didn't have no father figure so we had to learn from her how to be strong" (Colton) "She was trying to keep me out of keep me out of trouble try to do the right things and shit." (Kelvin) "Yea. Because if it wasn't for my mother there would be no telling where I would be now."

Mother's occupation

(Interviewer) "Did your mother work when you were growing up?" — 87% of them said yes, either in the hospital, public transit, secretary, schools, etc. Only a few said their mom was on public assistance when they were growing up.

Good relationship with mother

(Interviewer) “Do you have a good relationship with her now?” — Majority of them said yes, for the ones that say their relationship is good, some say it is great. Examples: (Kelvin) “yeah, we kind of tight, because she look out for me, when I need her she there, she always there”, (Juwan) “yeah we real close, cause I ain’t afraid to tell her stuff, like if I have a problem, I know I can always talk to my mother”, (Philip) “yeah, cause I can understand her better, where she coming from”.

Closest to mom

(Interviewer) “Who are you closest to in your family? Why?” — About half of them said their mom because, (James) “cause I could talk to her”, (Christian) “because she do most of the things for me”, (Myles) “cause I grow with her, we went through everything together, she looked out for me. When times was hard” (Juwan) “My moms ‘cause she was there when I needed stuff, she was there for me she could’ve just left us like my pops did, you know what I’m saying, she stuck in there and raised all 5 of us.”

Rules when growing up

(Interviewer) “Did your parents have definite rules for you? Which ones did you follow/break regularly? Was there a certain age you stopped following you parents rules?” — The majority of them said yes, the rules were curfew, hanging out with certain people, going to school, doing schoolwork, helping around the house.

They were asked which rules did they follow and which ones did they break – majority of them broke curfew and hanging out with certain people. The age that they stopped following rules started around 12 years old, but the majority of them said between 14-16 years old.

Talk about personal problems

(Interviewer) “Do you usually talk to your parents about your personal problems? How often? Why or why not?” —Only about half of them said yes, they talk to their moms about personal problems. (Keshawn) “Yeah, cause I know they give me some good advice, when I have a problem with a girl, or job situations or stressful situations I go talk to them.”, (Dominic) “Sometimes, twice a week, cause it be on my chest I figure talk to somebody to get it off me.” The ones that said no, they do not talk about their personal problems, are best illustrated by (Jonathan) “Nah, cause I feel that I’m at that age where I could handle my own thing.”

Talk about goals for the future

(Interviewer) “Do you usually talk to your mom/dad about your goals or plans for the future? How often? Why or why not?” Only about half of them talked about goals for the future – it seemed that if they were willing to talk about personal problems, then they would also talk about goals for the future. (Keshawn) “Yeah, I be like I’m going to do this and that, go to community college and get away from here, start my life over, and they give me a whole lot of good advice, do what you got to do to get out.” (Dominic) “Yeah, like you know just about everyday cause I feel they should know what I want to do.”

Opinion views between mother and son

(Interviewer) “Are your opinions about most things similar to the opinions of your parents, or are they different? How are they similar? How are they different? Give examples.” — A majority of them felt like their opinions were different. The main reason was that the sons did not agree with the mothers’ religious views. The other common

reason cited for opinions being different is that they just felt their parents' time was different and they didn't understand what the sons were going through. This is best described from (Joseph) "different, cause she talk from a more older point of view"; (Alex) "different, cause most of my family is mostly religious and I'm not into that."

Mother's approval of son's young adult life

(Interviewer) "Do you think your parents approve of most of the things that you do now as a young adult? Why or why not? What don't they like? What do they like?" —A majority of them said no, their mothers do not approve, which is best stated from these two interviews: (Alex) "somewhat (approve), they like that I had got a education, and the things they don't like is most of the time the people that I hang with." (Jacob) "Nah, she don't approve of that shit (talking about hustling) cause I like I said before, she know I can do better than what I'm doing ya know. She know my qualifications and I ain't doing them. She know what I'm capable of and right now I ain't doing it so she upset."

Physical Discipline

(Interviewer) "How often did your parents beat or whup you? How often did you physically fight back?" — A majority of them said yes, they got beatings/whuppings and a majority of them said they never fought back. Most never fought back because that is their mother and fighting back would be disrespectful. (Josh) "nah, that's mom duke you can't fight back mom duke."

This analysis reveals that these young males felt their mothers did the best they could, loved their sons, and tried to give them as much as they could. From the answers to these interviews, the sons described their mothers as authoritative parents – giving them love but also having rules and trying to guide them through their childhood.

Table 2.

Son's Perspectives of Their Mother

	#	%
Mother Employed		
No	11	18.3
Yes	49	81.7
Primary Caregiver		
Mom	43	72.9
Dad	1	1.7
Mom & Dad (includes steps)	6	10.2
Grandma	5	8.5
Sister/Sibling	2	3.4
Mom/sibling	1	1.7
Nobody	1	1.7
Mother Involved in Illegal Activities		
No	55	90.2
Yes	6	9.8
General Mother Opinion		
Missing	3	4.5
Good, Church lady	1	1.5
She's cool	4	6.0
She's good	2	3.0
She's messed up.	1	1.5
She's OK	4	6.0
She's sweet	1	1.5
She passed away	1	1.5
She was a good influence	43	64.2
She was around	4	6.0
She was around but nothing positive	1	1.5
She wasn't around very much	1	1.5
We are tight	1	1.5

Conclusion

These results illustrate that, from the son's perspective, these single mothers of African American criminally involved youths were a good influence. The mothers loved and cared for them as they were being raised, and the sons love and respect their mothers. Despite the strong bonds to their mothers during adolescence, these males ultimately became criminally involved and are influenced strongly by their peers.

In female-headed single parent households, mothers need additional support and resources to help them protect their sons from the dangers of involvement in delinquency and crime. Rather than exacerbating the problem of youth crime and violence, from a son's perspective these strong single mothers do all they can to mitigate the risk posed by high crime neighborhoods.

References

- Abell, E., Clawson, M., Washington, W.N., Bost, K.K., Vaughn, B.E. (1996). Parenting values, attitudes, behaviors, and goals of african-american mothers from a low-income population in relation to social and societal contexts. *Journal of Family Issues*, 17(5), 593-613.
- Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology Monograph*, 4(1, Pt. 2), 1-103.
- Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 10(2), 141-163.
- Bush, L. (2004). How black mothers participate in the development of manhood and masculinity: What do we know about black mothers and their sons? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73(4), 381-391.
- Giordano, P.C., Schroeder, R.D., Cernkovich, S.A. (2007). Emotions and crime over the life course: A neo-median perspective on criminal continuity and change. *American Journal of Sociology*, 112(6), 1603-1661.
- Hair, E.C., Moore, K.A., Garrett, S.B., Ling, Thomson, Cleveland, K. (2008). The continued importance of quality parent-adolescent relationships during late adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 18(1), 187-200.
- Hanson, C.L., Henggeler, S.W., Haefele, W.F., Rodick, J.D. (1984). Demographic, individual, and family relationship correlates to serious and repeated crime among adolescents and their siblings. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 52(4), 528-538.
- Henggeler, S.W., Hanson, C.L., Borduin, C.M., Watson, S.M., Brunk, M.A. (1985). Mother-son relationships of juvenile felons. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 53(6), 942-943.
- Lamborn, S.D., Mounts, N.S., Steinberg, L., Dornbusch, S.M. (1991). Patterns of competence and adjustment among adolescents from authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful families. *Child Development*, 62(5), 1049-1065.
- Lewit, E.M. (1993). Child indicators: Children in Poverty. *The Future of Children*, 3(1). Retrieved February 25, 2008 from The Future of Children website: <http://www.futureofchildren.org/index.htm>
- Mandara, J. & Murray, C.B. (2002). Development of an empirical typology of African American family functioning. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 16, 318-337.

- Mandara, J. (2006). The impact of family functioning on African American males' academic achievement: A review and clarification of the empirical literature. *Teachers College Record*, 108(2), 206-223.
- Maccoby, E., & Martin, J. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent-child interaction. In E.M. Hetherington (Ed.), P.H. Mussen (Series Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Socialization, personality, and social development* (pp. 1-101). New York: Wiley.
- Milevsky, A., Schlechter, M., Netter, S., Keehn, D. (2007). Maternal and paternal parenting styles in adolescents: Associations with self-esteem, depression, and life satisfaction. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 16, 39-47.
- Murry, V.M., Bynum, M.S., Brody, G.H., Willert, A., Stephens, D. (2001). African american single mothers and children in context: A review of studies on risk and resilience. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 4(2), 133-155.
- Walker, A.L., & Lidz, C.W. (1977). Methodological notes on the employment of indigenous observers. in *Street ethnography*, edited by R.S. Weppner. (Pp. 103-123). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Watters, J.K. & Biernacki, P. (1989). Targeted sampling: Options for the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems*, 36, 416-430.
- Wilkinson, D. L. (2007). Local social ties and willingness to intervene: Textured views among violent urban youth of neighborhood social control dynamics and situations. *Justice Quarterly*. 24(2), 185-220.
- Wilkinson, D. L. (2003). *Guns, violence and identity among African-American and Latino youth*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Wilkinson, D.L. and Fagan, J.A. (1996). The Role of Firearms in Violence 'Scripts': The Dynamics of Gun Events Among Adolescent Males. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 59 (1): 55-90. Winter.